

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LONDON 15811 01 OF 03 151227Z

44

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

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FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5568

AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 15811

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XEDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, GP, UK

SUBJECT: CARAMANLIS VISIT TO LONDON

REF: ATHENS 7812

SUMMARY. BRITISH BELIEVE CARAMANLIS VISIT WENT REMARK-
ABLY WELL. THEY WERE ABLE TO ASSURE GREEKS THAT U.S.
HAD NO WISH TO PUSH GOG INTO RASH DECISION CONCERNING
ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH NATO. IN THIS CONNECTION, CARA-
MANLIS TOLD WILSON HE WAS LOOKING FOR OCCASION TO RE-
TURN TO FULL NATO MEMBERSHIP, AFTER CYPRUS ISSUE WAS
RESOLVED. CARAMANLIS ASKED THAT UK USE ITS INFLUENCE
IN ANKARA TO CONVINCE TURKS TO MOVE ON CYPRUS PROBLEM,
AND SAID MOTIVE BEHIND GREECE'S APPLICATION FOR EC
ENTRY WAS POLITICAL RATHER THAN ECONOMIC. END SUMMARY.

1. GENERAL ATMOSPHERE. MICHAEL WESTON, ASSISTANT DEPT.
HEAD IN FAO FOR SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE, BRIEFED USOC.
14 ON GREEK PRIME MINISTER CARAMANLIS' OCTOBER 9 - 11
OFFICIAL VISIT TO THE UK. BRITISH BELIEVE THAT VISIT AS
A WHOLE WENT REMARKABLY WELL AND MUCH BETTER THAN THEY
DARED HOPE. BY WAY OF BACKGROUND, WESTON SAID THAT CARA-
MANLIS HAD VIRTUALLY INVITED HIMSELF TO BRITAIN. HE
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 LONDON 15811 01 OF 03 151227Z

HAD FIRST SPREAD THE WORD AROUND WESTERN EUROPE THAT HE

WANTED TO VISIT LONDON AND, AT ONE POINT EVEN INDICATED HE HAD BEEN ASKED TO COME BEFORE BRITISH HAD EXTENDED INVITATION. THEREFORE, THERE WAS NO PARTICULAR ENTHUSIASM IN HMG FOR THE VISIT. MOREOVER, CARAMANLIS' AIDES HAD BEEN DIFFICULT CONCERNING PROTOCOL NICETIES IN PERIOD IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING THE PRIME MINISTER'S ARRIVAL. THEY COMPLAINED THAT HE WAS NOT BEING MET BY THE PRIME MINISTER OR THE SECRETARY OF STATE; THAT HE WAS NOT BEING RECEIVED BY THE QUEEN; AND THAT PRIME MINISTER WILSON WAS SLMW IN AGREEING TO ATTEND CARAMANLIS' RETURN HOSIOTILITY. BUT, DESPITE THIS RATHER FOREBODING BACK-DROP, PAINTED EVEN DARKER BY THE COOLNESS IN UK-GREEK RELATIONS SINCE THE CYPRUS CRISIS LAST YEAR, AND THROUGH WHAT WESTON DESCRIBED AS A SERIES OF ACCIDENTS, THE BRITISH BELIEVE CARAMANLIS WAS "THRILLED TO BITS" WITH THE WAY THINGS WENT.

2. THE PRINCIPAL FORTUITY WAS A RESULT OF CARAMANLIS' SENSITIVITY OVER RECENT SIGNALS FROM THE U.S., INCLUDING PRESENTATION AT NATO, RELATING TO GREECE'S RELATIONSHIP WITH ALLIANCE WHICH HE PERCEIVED AS AN AMERICAN ATTEMPT TO PUSH HIM INTO A CORNER. ALMOST IMMEDIATELY UPON ARRIVAL, HE EXPRESSED, THROUGH FOREIGN MINISTER BITSIOS, CONCERN OVER THIS MATTER TO THE BRITISH AND ASKED THAT THEY DO WHATEVER THEY COULD TO CONVINCE THE U.S. TO ABANDON WHAT HE REGARDED AS CRUDE PRESSURE TACTICS. IT WAS AT THIS POINT THAT FOREIGN SECRETARY CALLAGHAN CALLED SECRETARY KISSINGER AND, ACCORDING TO BRITISH, WAS ASSURED THAT THE U.S. HAD NO WISH TO FORCE THE GOG INTO A RASH DECISIMN REGARDING ITS CONNECTION WITH NATO. WESTON SAID CARAMANLIS IMMEDIATELY ACCEPTED THIS ASSURANCE AT DACE VALUE AND WAS VISIBLY RELIEVED. THE BRITISH WDRE THUS, AT THE OUTSET, ABLE TO DO SOMETHING

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PAGE 01 LONDON 15811 02 OF 03 151309Z

42

ACTION SS-25

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O 151212Z OCT 75

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 LONDON 15811

EXDIS

SPECIFIC AND USEFUL FOR CARAMANLIS WHICH THEY BELIEVE
SET A POSITIVE TONE FOR THE REST OF THE VISIT.

3. CYPRUS. THE TWO PRIME MINISTERS TALKED FOR 3 HOURS-
AN UNUSUALLY LONG TIME BY WILSON'S STANDARDS - ON
OCTOBER 9. THEY MET FIRST FOR 20 MINUTES ALONE WITH
ONLY AN INTERPRETER, THEN WERE JOINED BY THE FOREIGN
MINISTERS FOR THE BALANCE OF THE EXCHANGE. CARAMANLIS
BEGAN WITH AN EXTENSIVE EXPOSITION ON CYPRUS. HIS
PRESENTATION WAS ALONG PREDICTABLE LINES, WITH THE
EMPHASIS ON THE LAST 18 MONTHS. HE CONCLUDED BY ASSERT-
ING THAT THE GREEK ARMY AND THE GREEK PEOPLE WERE GROW-
ING TIRED OF THE PRESENT SITUATION AND ONCE THE TURKISH
PRETEXTS OF THE AMERICAN ARMS EMBARGO AND THE TURKISH
SENATE ELECTIONS WERE OUT OF THE WAY, HE HOPED THAT ALL
COUNTRIES WITH INFLUENCE IN ANKARA WOULD USE IT. THE
BRITISH AFFIRMED THEY WOULD USE SUCH INFLUENCE AS THEY
HAD IN ANKARA IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE ELECTIONS, AND
OTHERS, INCLUDING THE GERMANS, WOULD BE DOING THE SAME.(IN
THIS CONNECTION, WE UNDERSTAND THAT CALLAGHAN SENT
MESSAGE OCTOBER 13 TO TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER IN WHICH
HE ARGUED IT WAS TIME TO PROCEED TOWARD A CYPRUS SETTLE-
MENT AND URGED GOT TO ALLOW DENKTASH TO MAKE TERRITORIAL
PROPOSALS.) CARAMANLIS THEN SUGGESTED THAT IF THESE
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PAGE 02 LONDON 15811 02 OF 03 151309Z

EFFORTS FAILED, CONSIDERATION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO OSTRACIZING
TURKEY FROM THE COMMUNITY OF EUROPEAN NATIONS. THE BRITISH
DID NOT RESPOND TO THAT NEEDLE AND CARAMANLIS DID NOT FORCE
IT. IN AN ASIDE, WESTON TOLD US THAT ONE OF THE PROBLEMS
WITH CONCERTED EC ACTION REGARDING CYPRUS WAS THAT THE
FRENCH BRIEFED THE GREEKS IN DETAIL ON AOMMUNITY DISCUSSIONS
AND THUS NONE OF THE REST OF THE NINE, KNOWING THEIR
COMMENTS WOULD BE REPLAYED IN ATHENS, SPOKE VERY FRANKLY.

4. THE TALK NEXT TURNED TO MAKARIOS' POSITION. CARAMANLIS
CLAIMED THERE COULD BE NO SOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM
WITHOUT MAKARIOS. CLERIDES WAS ALL RIGHT

IN HIS WAY, BUT HE HAD NO INDEPENDENT POWER BASE.
CARAMANLIS SAID HE POSSESSED A CERTAIN ABILITY TO INFLU-
ENCE MAKARIOS AND HE WOULD BE PREPARED TO DO JUST THAT
ONCE TURKEY PRODUCED REASONABLE PROPOSALS. WHEN WILSON
ASKED WHAT CARAMANLIS WOULD CONSIDER REASONABLE
PROPOSALS, HE WAS TOLD THAT IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR
ANY GREEK GOVERNMENT TO ACCEPT TURKISH CONTROL OVER
MORE THAN 25 PERCENT OF THE TERRITORY OF CYPRUS, AND
THE TURKS NOW OCCUPY OVER 40 PERCENT OF THE LAND. IN
ENDING THE CONVERSATION CONCERNING CYPRUS, CARAMANLIS
SAID THE TURKS BELIEVED MAKARIOS WAS TRYING TO PREVENT
ANY CYPRUS SETTLEMENT. CALLAGHAN INDICATED HE DID NOT
AGREE AND THAT MAKARIOS HAD BECOME A "WISER MAN AS HE
HAD GROWN OLDER".

5. GREECE-EC, CARAMANLIS SAID THAT THE MOTIVE BEHIND
GREECE'S APPLICATION FOR EC ENTRY WAS POLITICAL RATHER
THAN ECONOMIC. HE BELIEVED THAT GREEK MEMBERSHIP IN THE
EC WOULD CONSOLIDATE DEMOCRACY IN GREECE. TRAGIC EVENTS
OF LAST SEVEN YEARS WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE IF
GREECE HAD BEEN MEMBER OF EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. CAUTION-
ING CARAMANLIQ THAT FULL GREEK MEMBERSHIP IN EC WOULD BE
A SLOW SLOG, AND REMINDING HIM HOW LONG IT HAD TAKEN THE
BRITISH TO GET IN, WILSON OBSERVED THERE WERE SOME
AMONG THE NINE WHO THOUGHT THAT THE ENTRANCE OF GREECE,
TURKEY, SPAIN AND PORTUGAL INTO THE COMMUNITY WOULD

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PAGE 03 LONDON 15811 02 OF 03 151309Z

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 01 LONDON 15811 03 OF 03 151302Z

42

ACTION SS-25

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 LONDON 15811

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CAUSE SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL PROBLEMS. CARAMANLIS REACTED SHARPLY AND SAID GREECE SHOULD NOT BE LUMPED WITH THE OTHER THREE. UNLIKE THEM, GREEKS HAD AGREEMENT OF ASSOCIATION WHICH SPECIFICALLY LOOKED FORWARD TO FULL EC MEMBERSHIP. WILSON THEN OPINED THAT THE MAIN PROBLEM OF GREEK ENTRY WOULD BE WITH THOSE COUNTRIES WHICH PRODUCE WINE AND OLIVES WITH WHICH GREEK EXPORTS WOULD COMPETE. CARAMANLIS ALLEGED THAT HE HAD NO WORRIES IN THAT BOTH THE FRENCH AND ITALIAN GOVERNMENTS HAD ASSURED HIM "AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL" THAT THERE WOULD BE NO PROBLEMS ON THOSE GROUNDS.

6. GREECE-NATO. CARAMANLIS EXPLAINED THAT HE HAD BEEN FACED WITH TWO ALTERNATIVES IN THE PERIOD IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THE SECOND TURKISH INVASION OF CYPRUS: (1) DECLARE WAR; (2) OR WITHDRAW FROM NATO. PULLING OUT FROM THE MILITARY SIDE OF THE ALLIANCE WAS THE ABSOLUTE MINIMUM HE COULD DO AT THAT TIME. IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR GREECE TO RETURN TO THE NATO INTEGRATED MILITARY STRUCTURE UNTIL THE CYPRUS PROBLEM WAS SETTLED. HOWEVER, HE WANTED THE UK TO KNOW HE WAS LOOKING FOR OCCASION TO RETURN TO FULL NATO MEMBERSHIP. CARAMANLIS APPEALED TO WILSON -- AND BY EXTENSION TO ALLIANCE -- NOT TO FORCE HIS HAND. IF COMPELLED TO CHOOSE NOW
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PAGE 02 LONDON 15811 03 OF 03 151302Z

BETWEEN FULL ALLIANCE MEMBERSHIP OR LEAVING NATO, GOG WOULD HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE EXCEPT TO LEAVE. FACT THAT

FROM COMMUNIQUE TO AVOID GIVING IMPRESSION THAT GREEKS WERE BEING COERCED BY WILSON TO COME ALL THE WAY BACK INTO THE NATO NEST. CONVERSATION BETWEEN PRIME MINISTERS ENDED WITH BRIEF AND PROSAIC EXCHANGE ABOUT YUGOSLAVIA AFTER TITO AND CURRENT STATE OF EAST/WEST RELATIONS WHICH TURNED UP NO NUGGETS.

RICHARDSON

NOTE BY OC/T: SECTION 3 OF 3 LONDON 15811; #APPARENT OMISSION.
CORRECTION/CLARIFICATION TO FOLLOW.

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